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Self-cultivation consists of being unremittingly conscious of one's faults and of Communist ideals, of being ever alert, in study and action, to the recrudescence of 'bad' attitudes which are the residue of one's pre-Communist education. Liu Shao-ch'i stresses the development of consciousness in the individual; through consciousness one is free from the determining forces of history and environment and becomes capable of working creatively for the aims of the new society. This emphasis on consciousness is connected with both traditional ethics and Soviet psychology. On the one hand, it has "an obvious affinity to the Neo-Confucian notion of cultivation as freeing the individual from the tyranny of blind habit and unconscious selfish motivations."[13] On the other, it reflects the recent development of Soviet psychology; from an earlier denunciation of consciousness as "smacking of bourgeois idealism" the Russians have come to the view that "consciousness is a central process in making man capable of forging his own destinies."[14]

The list of bad qualities denounced by Communists is long; liberalism, formalism, bureaucratism, opportunism, and a dozen others are being continually denounced. How does one rid oneself of these vices? The following formula, here used against the vice of individualism, is typical:

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13. Cf. Nivison, op. cit., p. 15.

14. Cf. Raymond Bauer, The New Man in Soviet Psychology, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1952, p. 164 and passim. The quotations are from Jerome Bruner's forword to this volume, xxii.

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> "The methods transmitted by the ancients for raising oneself out of the vulgar state and entering sagehood, becoming a Buddha or a Taoist spirit, all required one to go through a long period of discipline. If we want to shed the earthly form of individualism and acquire a spiritual form of collectivism, we must cultivate and discipline ourselves over and over; ... we should continually ask ourselves this question: 'Am I or am I not still guilty of individualism?' If we have a thought, utter a sentence, walk a step or do a thing, we should then ask ourselves, 'Is this individualism or not?' And then we should listen for the response of others [the group] : this is -- or is not -- individualism."[15]

The last sentence quoted above introduces the notion of group criticism and group pressure, which is the universal Communist device for fostering approved behavior and eliminating the disapproved. Members of Party organizations, professions, government bureaus, and all other groups meet continually for criticism and self-criticism, and this whole process reaches the population through the publication of confessions and criticisms in the mass media. The study meetings, popularly called "struggle meetings," are characterized by an atmosphere of tension and fear. Confessions of deviation or defect are made by individuals and analyzed or "exposed" by the group; criticisms are leveled at individuals and promises of reform are exacted.[16] This appears to be a device of

15. Lun Tang Yü Ko-jen [On the Party and the Individual] cited in Nivison, op. cit., pp. 45-46, and note 66.

16. Cf., Anon., "The 'Struggle Meeting' in Communist China", Far Eastern Notes, No. 1, April 21, 1952.

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deadly effectiveness for making individuals conform to the 155
new Communist standards for thought and behavior.

B. Time, Change, and Causation

In traditional China, time and change were regarded 829
as cyclical. Out of their careful adjustment to the seasonal and recurrent rhythms of Nature, Chinese farmer-thinkers developed a notion of time and change which they applied to the course of individual lives, to changes in political life, to history as a whole. In the life of man, old age was seen not as the end of the line but as a return to childhood, not in the sense of "second childhood" but as having come full round from the freedom of childhood to the freedom of old age. In political thinking at all levels a notion of the cycle is present. Dynasties, like men and animals, were regarded as having a natural life, from birth, through growth, to maturity, senescence, and death; these phases differed in length but the cycle was never broken. Integration and disintegration followed one another as day followed night. The opening line of the most widely read Chinese classic novel states this prevailing belief: "When the empire has long been unified it will invariably be divided." [17]

The Communists seek to extirpate this age-old attitude and substitute for it the modern Western idea of straight-line progress. For them the future is not to be a return to the past but the attainment, through protracted struggle, of a Communist world utopia. Textbooks, Party handbooks, and all other media insist on this new and revolutionary idea of time and change. This dynamic straight-line change is typically and authoritatively ex-

17. San-kuo Chih Yen-i, [The Romance of the Three Kingdoms] , translated by Prewitt-Taylor.